

cooperative arrangements. Regime theory, in its various forms, has been applied to international organizations and has demonstrated its utility in accounting for the behaviour of states within these arrangements. Oran Young is a pioneer in applying regime theory to the Arctic and in refining the theory to fit northern circumstances. This, his latest work, continues along these lines.

Polar Politics is both an attempt to describe arctic regimes in the form of case studies, as well as using these case studies to advance theoretical frontiers. The book is edited by Oran Young and Gail Osherenko and contains two theoretical chapters and an appendix in addition to five case studies by various authors. A total of eleven authors participated in the study, representing four countries (United States, Canada, Russia, and Norway).

The first chapter is on the formation of international regimes, reviewing current theories on regime formation, classified into knowledge-, power- and interest-based hypotheses and contextual factors. The authors of this chapter, Gail Osherenko and Oran Young, compare these hypotheses in an effort to determine which have the greatest power in explaining and predicting regime formation. The authors constructed a template of hypotheses, each of which is tested in the context of the case studies. Three of the case studies examine existing arctic regimes: North Pacific fur seals, the Svalbard Archipelago, and polar bears. A fourth case study examines the regime for regulation of stratospheric ozone, which extends beyond the Arctic but includes all arctic states. The fifth and final case study investigates the problem of arctic haze, where no arctic regime has yet been formed. A final chapter and appendix present the findings, which appear to contradict the "hegemon" theory of regime formation. This theory suggests that the presence and initiative of a single powerful state are necessary to establish a regime. In *Polar Politics*, the authors suggest that the presence of a hegemon does not necessarily lead to formation of a regime — rather, many factors operating collectively better explain regime formation. These factors and their interaction are presented in a model at the end of the final chapter.

The authors have presented a good collection of information apropos both theory and case. The efforts to manage environmental problems in the Arctic, and the concomitant regimes, are thoroughly documented and well presented. The theoretical material, which challenges the dominant "hegemon" hypothesis, is well woven into the case studies so that they effectively illustrate the authors' critique. As the authors note, the Arctic is an excellent region in which to conduct comparative political research, as the biological and physical systems are similar throughout — thus avoiding any deterministic arguments — but the human experience differs, with different social, economic, and political systems.

What the book lacks is more information concerning the latest developments in cooperative arrangements among the arctic states — not too much to ask, as the book was published in 1993 and these other cooperative arrangements were initiated as early as 1989. These other arrangements, e.g., the Rovaniemi Process, the Northern Forum, and the proposed Arctic Council, are dealt with in a cursory manner or not at all. The Northern Forum, admittedly, is a regime

involving sub-national governments, but the other two include state actors.

The book has ambitions regarding the development of regime theory, which makes it useful as a text insofar as it combines both theory and case. But the problem connected to the effort to develop regime theory is its inadequacy: the authors' way of thinking seems to take for granted that the different aspects of regime creation — interests, power, knowledge, and external impacts — can be placed on the same level and used to assess effortlessly the impact on regime creation. The assumption that changes in the knowledge base are at the same level is particularly problematic. While this is not the place to discuss the critiques of regime theory, we can at least note that regimes, as institutions for the exercise of power, can lead to the institutionalization of inequality and power relationships. *Polar Politics*, along with much other writing on regime theory, fails to make the connections between power, knowledge, and interests — something that may be beyond the scope of regime theory in general.

The book seems to be geared towards the American market, noticeable in the presence of only one Scandinavian author, despite the fact that Scandinavian states have been especially active in developing regimes for the Arctic. In general, the book is a good package of information about environmental problems in the Arctic and efforts to manage them. It is well worth reading by those interested in the theory of regime formation and in arctic environmental problems and by practitioners of international relations and foreign policy.

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ARCTIC POLITICS: CONFLICT AND COOPERATION
IN THE CIRCUMPOLAR NORTH. By ORAN R. YOUNG.
Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1993.
287 p. Softbound, US\$17.95. Hardbound, US\$35.00.

For well over a century, natural scientists, geographers, ethnologists, archaeologists and anthropologists have been the major participants in arctic research. By emphasizing the uniqueness of these regions, they inspired and reinforced a romanticized image of the northern polar regions. Government officials and private industry, on the other hand, saw the darker side of arctic exceptionalism when facing the harsh realities of geography in their attempts to effect economic and social change. Most scholars have recognized the inherent contradictions that gave rise to either optimism or pessimism

but recently have accepted a more realistic view held by the indigenous peoples that combines the romance and the hardship into one image of "homeland."

Dr. Oran R. Young, director of the Institute of Arctic Studies at Dartmouth, offers yet another perspective in his latest book, *Arctic Politics: Conflict and Cooperation in the Circumpolar North*. This collection of essays focuses on the political initiatives and adaptations employed locally, nationally and internationally to meet the changing circumstances occurring throughout the circumpolar North. Arguing that political scientists have marginalized the region as one of little significance in their mainstream studies, he states that his purpose in writing this book was to introduce arctic politics as a new field of inquiry. Whether successful or not, the author should be commended for filling a major gap in existing arctic studies.

Most regional studies tend to focus on the uniqueness of physical geographical features, the resident population and their economic base, but in this instance, Dr. Young suggests a "converse" approach to analysis. Convinced that many socio-economic issues are generic to the arctic regions, he sees the circumpolar North as an opportunity to test and evaluate various political accommodations. In his words, "it is the prospect of a two-way flow of ideas between the substance of Arctic issues and generic concerns, rather than the unique features of the region, that makes Arctic studies attractive to social scientists in general and to students of politics in particular" (p. ix). The merits of this approach become clearer on further reading.

The success of this ambitious study rests partly on its organization into three distinct sections, dealing first with political issues at the community level, then followed by national and international concerns. Recognizing the inherent problems in discussing government policies during a period of rapidly changing priorities, the author introduces each section with an updated "prologue" with qualifying comment on the circumstances and potentialities as they existed at the time of writing. Thus, instead of risking the appearance of being "out-dated," the text of the following chapters are placed into a more clearly defined historical context.

The first section explores the many political issues affecting local communities, such as the question of "internal colonialism or self-sufficiency," the economic and health problems of the indigenous peoples, and concluding with the larger question of cultural survival for "hunter/gatherer"-based societies. The second part deals with regional or territorial concerns, such as inter-governmental relations, resource-development conflicts, transportation problems, and even the effect of external pressures upon a region, such as the animal rights movement.

The final section focuses on the broader issues impacting on circumpolar relations, such as defence policies and environmental concerns, with a concluding chapter questioning the future of the Arctic as "a distinctive region or policy periphery." Although each chapter was written to stand alone, an excellent index allows easy access to the wealth of factual information provided on specific problems, important events, government policies, statistics and regional and circumpolar institutions.

As one might expect, the American perspective sometimes dominates, as in the author's heavy reliance on the Alaskan experience to illustrate local issues, in the discussion on the United States defence policies, and particularly in his views on the need for a continuing military/nuclear presence on the arctic frontier. His firm rejection of any move to declare the Arctic a demilitarized and nuclear-free zone (p. 213), for instance, will likely be challenged by scholars of other nations and most certainly by the indigenous peoples of the Arctic. Yet, on balance, opposing views are fully explained, without recrimination or unfair criticism, and questions are also raised concerning American attitudes and policies. Thus while readers may not always agree with the author, his incisive analysis and forthright reporting are a refreshing change from the dogmatic criticism or unrealistic idealism often found in arctic studies.

On some contentious issues, such as the animal rights and anti-harvest campaigns, Dr. Young describes the conflicting viewpoints without apparent preference or bias. At other times, his explanations are uncomfortably accurate, especially when discussing the political realities of "greater powers" compared to those of "the lesser Arctic Rim states." With respect to the militarization of the Arctic and Canadian concerns about arctic sovereignty, the author is ruthlessly candid:

... influential Canadians often react with genuine unease to any pattern of developments leading to an increase in American military activities in the Far North. Though each initiative may take the form of a cooperative Canadian/American venture, Canada does not possess the military capabilities or the resources to participate as an equal partner in such arrangements. Nor is Canada sufficiently confident of its ability to exercise effective occupancy in the Arctic archipelago to respond to a growing American military presence in the area without concern. Such developments are bound to remind many Canadians of the immediate postwar period, when American bases and military personnel dominated the Canadian Arctic [p. 201].

Although Canadian politicians and bureaucrats may be quick to deny the veracity of such statements, the forthright honesty of his analysis makes this volume so important to understanding the many complexities of arctic politics. The former policies of Russia and the FennoScandia countries also come under similar scrutiny. Even United States arctic policies are described as "vague and volatile," although Dr. Young sees public attitudes rather than policies as the critical determinants dictating the destiny of the Alaskan aborigines (p. 86-88).

Given the repeated assertion of the need for circumpolar cooperative mechanisms to deal with transnational conflicts and tensions, one might question why there was no attempt to explain the United States' reluctance to proceed with the proposed Arctic Council representing the eight arctic nations. Although indirectly stated, the answer appears to relate to "national interests" and the United States position as a "superpower with world wide interests" but with direct control over only a small segment of the Arctic. As a consequence, according to Dr. Young, the United States would be opposed to any initiative that might have any adverse effect on the rights and freedoms inherent in the superpower status.

Although this study cannot be considered "definitive" because of the ongoing evolution of political process and accommodation, it is an invaluable resource and of particular interest to the new generation of aboriginal statesmen striving for increased self-government. Whether one agrees or disagrees with the views expressed, this book should be read with an open mind by all interested in the future of the circumpolar North. As the first in a series titled Arctic Visions, with contributions drawn from the international community of arctic specialists, *Arctic Politics* appears to be the flagship — and a most deserving one.

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BOOKS RECEIVED

- ESKIMO ARTISTS (FIELDWORK IN ALASKA, JUNE 1936 UNTIL APRIL 1937). By HANS HIMMELHEBER. With an Introduction by ANN FIENUP-RIORDAN. Fairbanks, AK: University of Alaska Press, 1993. ISBN 0-912006-69-2. 84 p., map, b&w illus., bib. Softbound. US\$15.00 + \$3.00 p&h.
- IS IT FOOD? ADDRESSING MARINE MAMMAL AND SEABIRD DECLINES: WORKSHOP SUMMARY. Edited by SUE KELLER. Fairbanks, AK: Alaska Sea Grant College Program, 1993. (Available from Alaska Sea Grant College Program, University of Alaska Fairbanks, Fairbanks, AK 99775-5040.) vi + 59 p. Softbound. US\$7.00.
- NORSE AND LATER SETTLEMENT AND SUBSISTENCE IN THE NORTH ATLANTIC. Edited by CHRISTOPHER D. MORRIS and D. JAMES RACKHAM. Glasgow, Scotland: Department of Archaeology, University of Glasgow, 1992. ISBN 1-873132-40-9. (Available from Archetype Books, 12-14 Hallsquare, Denbigh, CLWYD LL16 3NU, England.) x + 230 p., maps, b&w illus. Softbound. £19.95 + p&h.
- SILAS: THE ANTARCTIC DIARIES AND MEMOIR OF CHARLES S. WRIGHT. Edited by COLIN BULL and PAT F. WRIGHT. Illustrated by PAT F. WRIGHT. Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University Press, 1993. ISBN 0-8142-0548-8. xxx + 418 p., maps, b&w illus., glossary, bib., index. Hardbound. US\$59.50.
- THE COLLEGE HILL CHRONICLES: HOW THE UNIVERSITY OF ALASKA CAME OF AGE. By NEIL DAVIS. Fairbanks, AK: University of Alaska Press, 1992. ISBN 1-883309-01-8. 627 p., b&w illus., notes, index. Hardbound. US\$30.00 + \$2.50 p&h.
- THE HEALTH OF THE INUIT OF NORTH AMERICA: A BIBLIOGRAPHY FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES THROUGH 1990. By ROBERT FORTUINE, JULI BRAUND-ALLEN, JUDY ALWARD, LORETTA ANDRESS, and JERALDINE VAN DEN TOP. Anchorage, AK: The University of Alaska Anchorage, 1993. Published originally by Arctic Medical Research, Vol. 52, Supp. 8, 1993. xvii + 353 p., maps, subject and author indices. Softbound. US\$30.00 + \$4.50 p&h in U.S., \$5.50 p&h in Canada.
- THE TRANS-ALASKA PIPELINE CONTROVERSY: TECHNOLOGY, CONSERVATION, AND THE FRONTIER. By PETER A. COATES. Fairbanks, AK: The University of Alaska Press, 1993. ISBN 0-912006-67-6. 447 p., maps, b&w illus., notes, bib., index. Softbound. US\$25.00 + \$3.00 p&h.
- TOWARDS AN INTERNATIONAL INDIGENOUS ARCTIC POLICY (ARCTIC LEADERS' SUMMIT). By MADS FÆGTEBORG. Copenhagen, DK: Arctic Information's Forlag, 1993. ISBN 87-89977-02-05. 91 p., includes an English-Russian Conference Dictionary. (Available from Arctic Information's Forlag, Møntergade 16, DK-1116 Copenhagen K, Denmark.) Softbound. Dkk198.00.
- WINNING BACK THE WORDS: CONFRONTING EXPERTS IN AN ENVIRONMENTAL PUBLIC HEARING. By MARY RICHARDSON, JOAN SHERMAN and MICHAEL GISMONDI. Toronto, Ontario: Garamond Press, 1993. ISBN 0-929959-17-1. 191 p., map, b&w illus., bib., index. Softbound. Cdn\$16.95.

PAPERS TO APPEAR IN ARCTIC

- WESLAWSKI, J.M., RYG, M., SMITH, T.G., and ORITSLAND, N.A. Diet of Ringed Seals (*Phoca hispida*) in a Fjord of West Svalbard.
- MILLS, P.F. The Agricultural Potential of Northwestern Canada and Alaska and the Impact of Climate Change.
- PEKKARINEN, A., ANTTONEN, H., and PRAMILA, S. Accident Prevention in Reindeer Herding Work.
- EGGERTSSON, Ó. Mackenzie River Driftwood — A Dendrochronological Study.
- FRIMER, O. Autumn Arrival and Moulting in King Eiders, *Somateria spectabilis*, at Disko, West Greenland.
- FRODIN, P., HAAS, F., and LINDSTRÖM, Å. Mate Guarding by Curlew Sandpipers (*Calidris ferruginea*) during Spring Migration in North Siberia.
- KEY, J., MASLANIK, J.A., PAPA KYRIAKOU, T., SERREZE, M.C., and SCHWEIGER, A.J. On the Validation of Satellite-Derived Sea Ice Surface Temperature.
- DE ABREU, R.A., KEY, J., MASLANIK, J.A., SERREZE, M.C., and LeDREW, E.F. Comparison of *in Situ* and AVHRR-Derived Broadband Albedo over Arctic Sea Ice.
- FEDER, H.M., FOSTER, N.R., JEWETT, S.C., WEINGARTNER, T.J., and BAXTER, R. Distribution of Mollusks in the Northeastern Chukchi Sea.
- BARBER, D.G., and LeDREW, E.F. On the Links between Microwave and Solar Wavelength Interactions with Snow-Covered First-Year Sea Ice.
- COLLINS, C.M., RACINE, C.H., and WALSH, M.E. The Physical, Chemical, and Biological Effects of Crude Oil Spills after Fifteen Years on a Black Spruce Forest, Interior Alaska.
- WALKER, H.J. Environmental Impact of River Dredging in Arctic Alaska (1981-89).

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

Dear Editor:

Stewart Nelson assumed that "in all respects, the era of airship expeditions to the Arctic drew to a close" on 31 July 1931 with the return of the *Graf Zeppelin* to Friedrichshafen after flying over the Barents and Kara seas ("Airships in the Arctic," *Arctic* 46[3], September 1993). This assumption is rather misleading.

In August 1958 a ZPG2 airship from the United States Naval Air Development Center, South Weymouth, Massachusetts, overflew Ice Island T3 from Resolute, Cornwallis Island, N.W.T. Temporary masts had been installed at Churchill and Resolute to support the 8700 km exercise to determine the use of lighter-than-air craft in supporting research in the Arctic.

An account of this project first appeared in *The Arctic Circular* 12(2), 1959. It was reported again in a special arctic issue of the *RCAF Roundel* 12(4), May 1960. Neither of these publications is in print today. The latest reference to the ZPG2 flight appeared in the *Journal of the Canadian Aviation Historical Society* 18(3), Fall 1980.

Although a U.S. Navy ZPG2 has been the only airship to penetrate the North American Arctic since the *Norge* flight of May 1926 or the polar regions since the *Graf Zeppelin* venture of 1931, I doubt whether one should ever close the book on airship expeditions to the Arctic. Helium fever has a habit of breaking out when least expected.

Yours sincerely,
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